1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

yoke. He is considered as impure, and this gives rise to an offering 286
at which he must wear a *gĕringsing sanan ĕmpĕg*.[13] He continues to wear this *gĕringsing* for six seven-day weeks. According to popular belief if the rice crop is threatened by a plague, especially of locusts, persons who are *sanan ĕmpĕg* must be requested to make a procession to the *sawahs* wearing the *gĕringsing*. Shouting continually, they rouse the insects, which then disappear no one knows where.

In the village of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan itself the use of certain *gĕringsings* is prescribed for specified ceremonies. There is little known about the names of the different fabrics. There are three ways of classifying them: according to the number of threads bound together, according to the pattern, and according to the use the cloths are put to.

Besides the *gĕringsings* proper, another kind of cloth, the so-called *sampĕt*, is also made in Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan. The *sampĕt* is a small white or yellow circular-woven *kain*. The white sort serves as a sash, *sabuk tubuhan*, which is part of the compulsory dress for meetings. These are the only fabrics woven in the *desa*. The *kain lilit* or *kambĕn gantih* belonging to the *adat* costume of the girls is made in Tĕnganan Dauh Tukad and Pasĕdahan.

Music, dance, and drama are little developed in Tĕnganan Pĕgĕ- 53
ringsingan. Of the many Balinese plays the only ones known in the *desa* are the *Chalon Arang*, the renowned witch play, which has a more or less religious character, and the *gambuh*. Of the dances, the *legong* and the *barong* are new in the village and the *gandrung* and the *joged*, two dances which give the Balinese an opportunity to reveal their worst side, are forbidden. Consequently when in earlier times the rulers of Karangasĕm passed the night in the village they had to provide their own dancing girls and boys, for the *desa* could not supply them. The *desa* does not own a wayang set, nor is the wayang performed there.

Since music is used on Bali almost exclusively as an accompani- 533
ment to drama and the dance, it is understandable that the number of orchestras is also small. The *desa* owns a *gamĕlan gong*,

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

paid labour and the relation of boss to coolie are reduced to a minimum in Bali. Since the world of a Balinese is his community, he is anxious to prove his worth, for his own welfare is in direct relation to his social behaviour and his communal standing. Moral sanctions are regarded as stronger than physical punishment, and no one will risk the dreaded punishment of exile from the village, when a man is publicly declared "dead" to his community. Once "thrown away," he cannot be admitted into another of the co-operative villages, so no misfortune could be greater to the Balinese than public disgrace. This makes of every village a closely unified organism in which the communal policy is harmony and co-operation — a system that works to everybody's advantage.

By their ingenuity and constant activity they have raised their main occupation, the cultivation of rice, to levels unsurpassed by other rice-growing nations. Being essentially agriculturists, they are not interested in navigation and trade; living the easy life of the tropics, they are satisfied and well fed. The majority work the land for themselves, so they have not yet become wage-earners and have enough freedom and leisure left to dedicate to spiritual relaxation. They are extraordinarily fond of music, poetry, and dancing, which have produced a remarkable theatre. Their culture, unlike that of their cultural ancestors, the Javanese, is not yet in frank decline. Even the common people are better agriculturists, better craftsmen and artists than the average Javanese. The Balinese are by no means a primitive people.

Moreover, unlike the natives of the South Seas and similar races under white domination, the Balinese are not a dying people; far from that, in the last ten years a constant increase in the birth-rate has been recorded. The 1930 census gave the population of Bali as 1,148,000 people, or about 500 to the square mile, an enormous figure when compared with the 41 per square mile of the United States. This includes the foreign population: 7,935 Chinese, 1,544 Arabs and other Mohammedans, and 411 Europeans, of which only a small percentage are

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

CHAPTER VII

ART AND THE ARTIST

THE PLACE OF THE ARTIST IN BALINESE LIFE

Everybody in Bali seems to be an artist. Coolies and princes, priests and peasants, men and women alike, can dance, play musical instruments, paint, or carve in wood and stone. It was often surprising to discover that an otherwise poor and dilapitated village harboured an elaborate temple, a great orchestra, or a group of actors of repute.

One of the most famous orchestras in Bali is to be found in the remote mountain village of Selat, and the finest dancers of *legong* were in Saba, an unimportant little village hidden among the ricefields. Villages such as Mas, Batuan, Gelgel, are made up of families of painters, sculptors, and actors, and Sanur produces, besides priests and witch-doctors, fine story-tellers and dancers. In Sebatu, another isolated mountain village, even the children can carve little statues from odd bits of wood, some to be used as bottle-stoppers, perches for birds, handles, but most often simply absurd little human figures in comic attitudes, strange animals, birds of their own invention, frogs, snakes, larvæ of insects, figures without reason or purpose, simply as an outlet for their creative urge. In contrast to the devil-may-care primitive works of Sebatu are the super-refined, masterful carvings from Badung, Ubud, Pliatan, and especially those by the family of

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

young Brahmanas from Mas who turn out intricate statues of hard wood or with equal ability paint a picture, design a temple gate, or act and dance.

Painting, sculpture, and playing on musical instruments are arts by tradition reserved to the men, but almost any woman can weave beautiful stuffs and it is curious that the most intriguing textiles, those in which the dyeing and weaving process is so complicated that years of labour are required to complete a scarf, are made by the women of Tenganan, an ancient village of six hundred souls who are so conservative that they will not maintain connections with the rest of Bali and who punish with exile whoever dares to marry outside the village.

The main artistic activity of the women goes into the making of beautiful offerings for the gods. These are intricate structures of cut-out palm-leaf, or great pyramids of fruit, flowers, cakes, and even roast chickens, arranged with splendid taste, masterpieces of composition in which the relative form of the elements employed, their texture and colour are taken into consideration. I have seen monuments, seven feet in height, made entirely of roasted pig's meat on skewers, decorated into shapes cut out of the waxy fat of the pig and surmounted with banners and little umbrellas of the lacy stomach tissues, the whole relieved by the vivid vermilion of chili-peppers. Although women of all ages have always taken part in the ritual offering dances, in olden times only little girls became dancers and actresses; but today beautiful girls take part in theatrical performances, playing the parts of princesses formerly performed exclusively by female impersonators.

The effervescence of artistic activity and the highly developed æsthetic sense of the population can perhaps be explained by a natural urge to express themselves, combined with the important factor of leisure resulting from well-organized agricultural cooperatism. However, the most important element for the development of a popular culture, with primitive as well as refined characteristics, was perhaps the fact that the Balinese did not

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

The artist is in Bali essentially a craftsman and at the same time an amateur, casual and anonymous, who uses his talent knowing that no one will care to record his name for posterity. His only aim is to serve his community, seeing that the work is well done when he is called to embellish the temple of the village, or when he carves his neighbour's gate in exchange for a new roof or some other similar service. Actors and musicians play for the feasts of the village without pay, and when they perform for private festivals they are lavishly entertained and banqueted instead. Foreigners have to pay a good amount for a performance: from five to thirty guilders according to the quality of the show and the pretensions of the actors; but a Balinese who calls the village's orchestra or a troupe of actors for a home festival provides special food, refreshments, *sirih*, and cigarettes for them. If he pays a small amount besides, from a guilder to five, it is not considered as remuneration, but rather as a present to help the finances of the musical or theatrical club. Whatever money they receive goes to the funds of the association to cover the expenses of the feasts given by the club or to buy new costumes or instruments.

Nothing in Bali is made for posterity; the only available stone is a soft sandstone that crumbles away after a few years, and the temples and reliefs have to be renewed constantly; white ants devour the wooden sculptures, and the humidity rots away all paper and cloth, so their arts have never suffered from fossilization. The Balinese are extremely proud of their traditions, but they are also progressive and unconservative, and when a foreign idea strikes their fancy, they adopt it with great enthusiasm as their own. All sorts of influences from the outside, Indian, Chinese, Javanese, have left their mark on Balinese art, but they are always translated into their own manner and they become strongly Balinese in the process.

Thus the lively Balinese art is in constant flux. What becomes the rage for a while may be suddenly abandoned and forgotten when a new fashion is invented, new styles in music or in the

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

177 theatre, or new ways of making sculptures and paintings. But the
53 traditional art also remains, and when the artists tire of a new
idea, they go back to the classic forms until a new style is again invented. They are great copyists and it is not surprising to find in a temple, as part of the decoration, a fat Chinese god or a scene representing a highway hold-up, or a crashing plane, events unknown in Bali, that can only be explained as having been copied from some Western magazine. Once a young Balinese painter saw my friend Walter Spies painting yellow high-lights on the tips of the leaves of a jungle scene. He went home and made a painting that was thoroughly Balinese, but with modelling and high-lights until then unknown in Balinese painting.
[424] Artistic property cannot exist in the communal Balinese culture; if an artist invents or copies something that is an interesting novelty, soon all the others are reproducing the new find. Once a sculptor made a little statue representing the larvæ of an insect standing upright on its tail; a few weeks later everybody was making them and soon the statue market was flooded with Brancusi-like little erect worms on square bases.

532 Unlike the individualistic art of the West in which the main
517 concern of the artist is to develop his personality in order to create an easily recognizable style as the means to attain his ultimate goal — recognition and fame — the anonymous artistic production of the Balinese, like their entire life, is the expression of collective thought. A piece of music or sculpture is often the work of two or more artists, and the pupils of a painter or a sculptor invariably collaborate with their master. The Balinese artist builds up with traditional standard elements. The arrangement and the general spirit may be his own, and there may even be a certain amount of individuality, however subordinated to the local style. There are definite proportions, standard features, peculiar garments, and so forth to represent a devil, a holy man, a prince, or a peasant, and the personality of a given character is determined, not so much by physical characteristics, but rather by sartorial details. The romantic heroes, Ardjuna, Rama, and

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

517 offshoot of the aristocratic art of India of the seventh and eighth
532 centuries, brought it down to earth, and made it popular property.

Although at the service of religion, Balinese art is not a religious art. An artist carves ludicrous subjects in the temples or embellishes objects of daily use with religious symbols, using them purely as ornamental elements regardless of their significance. The Balinese carve or paint to tell the only stories they know — those created by their intellectuals, the religious teachers of former times.

THE STORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF BALINESE ART

175 The art history of Bali runs parallel to the history of the island
53 itself. When Bali became a colony of Java, the conquering aristocracy brought their art with them, and every political event in Java has had a powerful influence in the development of Balinese culture. Thus, the early classic period of Javanese art corresponds also to a classic period in Bali, and when the mother country suffered disturbances and transformations, these were reflected in Balinese art, until Islamism and political chaos severed all connections between the two islands, and Hinduism had to find refuge in Bali. As the island became the centre of a new empire and no longer a province of Java, the Balinese natives took over the art of the exiled aristocracy, transformed it to suit their taste, and a typical Balinese art came into being.

174 Nothing definite is known of the art of pre-Hindu Bali, but
53 we know that the old Indonesian had a culture of its own, perhaps like the present one of the people of Nias and the Bataks of Sumatra, to whom the Balinese are in many ways akin. They worked metals, especially iron for the making of magic krisses; cultivated rice, had a well-organized administration, kept domestic animals, and made splendid textiles. Outside of a stone sarcophagus, some bronze bracelets and arrow-heads found in Petang, probably belonging to people of Hinduistic affiliation,

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

no material traces of their megalithic monuments remain, or have yet been found, perhaps because archæological excavation has hardly begun in Bali. But a great deal of the old Indonesian spirit has remained in the daily life of the people, not only among the Bali Agas, but also alongside the Hinduism of the ordinary Balinese. As we shall see later, there are definite traces of what could have been the art of pre-Hindu times found today in the offerings, in the patterns of textiles, in certain sculptures, and the like.

Antiques are scarce in Bali, although there are thousands of mossy and battered statues all over the island, often of a more primitive style than the usual contemporary art. But a newly made statue appears of great age after six months of exposure to the damp climate of Bali, and, on the other hand, many ancient statues resemble those made in recent years. Many of the innumerable remains found in the temples, in jungles, or imbedded in the trunk of a *waringin* may easily be contemporary.

We made a sport of going out with Walter Spies into remote districts to find objects of what we called "native" Balinese style, and often located figures in wood, stone, and even clay that showed no trace of Hindu influence. There were demons, girls, primitive animals, and alarm-drums with faces carved on them that were reminiscent of Dyak, Batak, and Polynesian art. Spies is an enthusiast for the "megalithic" art and he has discovered many strange stones with primitive carvings, such as the stone in Bebitera, or the magnificent stone altar in Batukandik in the little island of Nusa Penida: a pyramid twelve feet high surmounted by the torso of a woman with large breasts, supporting on her head a stone throne like those from Nias, with two roosters standing on her shoulders, their heads resting on the palms of her hands. The style of the monument is decidedly Indonesian and so are the two little shrines, also in the same village, with well-defined signs of being one male, the other female. I was invited to accompany Assistant Controleur Grader and Spies on an expedition into the wilds between the mountains

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

agination of the Balinese, perhaps because it is the shape of the "Rice Mother" (*ninì pantun*), a sheaf of rice dressed into the shape of a *tjilí*. This would indicate that the mysterious figure was connected with, or derived from, the deities of rice and fertility, either Dewi Sri or Melanting, also goddesses of beauty and seed respectively. Again, the shape of the great offerings (*kebógan*), a pyramid of fruit topped by a fan of flowers and palm-leaf, is also a *tjilí*, so stylized however that only the pyramidal skirt and the flower head-dress remain. This became evident when we saw in Kesiman, alongside the usual form of offerings, one six feet tall made into a realistic *tjilí*, her skirt of melons, ears of corn, oranges, *djambú*, and *salak*, her torso of frangipani flowers (*djepón*), and her face a smiling wooden mask with great ear-plugs and a fan of flowers as a head-dress. *Tjilís* are often so stylized that simply a palm-leaf fan with two loops (the ear-plugs or breasts) is called a *tjilí*. I became intensely intrigued by the persistence of this shape in so many of the ritual objects and was determined to find in it some religious significance; I asked all sorts of people about *tjilís*, from high priests to old women offering-makers, but they all insisted that they were purely ornamental forms appropriate for offerings because they were beautiful. The word *tjilí* means "small and nice," rather in the sense in which we use the term "cute." Whatever its origin, the *tjilí* is today nothing more than a beautiful abstract feminine motif.

OLD HINDU BALINESE ART

Already in the records of Chinese travellers of the fifth century it is mentioned that in the country of "Poli," perhaps Bali, there were Hindu princes, and that the travellers were received by priests who danced around them blowing conch-shells. Bali was already a colony of the Central Javanese kingdom of Mataram, the earliest recorded ruler of which was, according to Stutterheim, King Sandjaya or Sanjaya (A.D. 732) of the Sailendra dynasty, who ruled also over southern Sumatra. The

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

175 Sailendras where Mahayanic Buddhists, and their highly de-
53 veloped art was like that of the great Gupta period of India. Sivaism was introduced towards the middle of the ninth century

[531]

Tjilí of Woven Palm-Leaf

and, by degrees, the power of the Sailendras waned, but it was within this period, from the seventh to the ninth centuries, the golden age of Javanese art, that the finest monuments of Java

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

were built, the Buddhist *Borobudur* and the Sivaist *Lora Djo-ngrang* in Prambanan. Soon this great civilization disappeared mysteriously and Bali came under the rule of independent kings

Tjilí of Palm-Leaf from the Top of an Offering

in Pedjeng and Bedulu. From their time we have remains of the classic style in the neighbourhood of the present villages of the same names, some in ruined temples, in caves, or among the

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

175 ricefields, in the strip of land between the rivers Pakrisan and
53 Petanú, where so many of the antiquities of Bali are found.
[172] Towards the beginning of the eleventh century there was a renaissance in East Java, in Kediri, brought about by the Balinese-born king Erlangga. Under him Bali became again an in-

[531]

Tjilis from Lamaks

tegral part of Java and classicism received a new impetus. It was Erlangga who instituted Javanese as the official language of Bali. Tantric black magic seems to have played an important part in Erlangga's time, and while he was having trouble with his greatest political enemy, his own mother, who had sworn to destroy his kingdom by the black arts, Erlangga's brother ruled Bali in his name. This brother was buried (according to Stutterheim) in the spectacular "Kings' tombs" in Gunung Kawi near Tampaksiring.

172 Among the important relics of the ancient period are the
211 following: [Text continues on page 176]

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

CHAPTER VIII

THE DRAMA

No feast is complete in Bali without music and elaborate dramatic and dance performances; no one would dream of getting married, or holding a cremation, or even of celebrating a child's birthday, without engaging troupes of dancers and actors to entertain the guests and the neighbours. During the anniversary feasts of the temple there are always dances that last throughout the night and may even continue for days, with a different type of show every afternoon and night. At the great feast of Taman Badung, the death temple of Den Pasar, there were shows every night for an entire month. 527 53

The Balinese love night-life and it was rare when after ten at night someone did not come to us with news of a show somewhere, or when we did not hear distant music in the village. We became such enthusiastic theatre-goers that we had, sometimes, to make a point of staying home to catch up with lost sleep. Even the tired peasant who works all day in the fields does not mind staying up at night to watch a show, and the little children who invariably make up the front rows of the audience remain there until dawn for the end, occasionally huddled together taking naps, but wide awake for the exciting episodes of the play. 536 [857]

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

gods. In the *Ardjuna Wiwaha* it is mentioned that the seven principal *dedari* were made from a precious stone that was split into seven parts. Before dancing for the assembled gods, the nymphs, the legend says, walked three times around them in the usual respectful manner; the gods became lovesick, and since their dignity prevented them from turning around, Indra sprung many eyes, and Brahma developed four faces.

Balinese dancing was, perhaps, originally restricted to the ritual, but the religious dance has become more and more theatrical; characters that were once frightful demons are now tamed to perform for the amusement of the crowd. There are, however, still many purely religious or magical dances; local priests (*pemangku, kabayan,* and so forth) of the old communities still dance solemnly at temple feasts, in front of the altars, holding incense-burners, even going into a trance and walking in fire. Only in Bali have I seen wrinkled old women with white hair dancing to amuse the gods, splendidly unashamed of what would be normally the attribute of youth. At temple feasts they perform the *mendét* and the *redjang,* two dances mainly for "aged" women — married women — with offerings of food to the visiting deities.

Although there are dances of a purely demonstrative type that interpret the music, dancing in Bali cannot be considered as an art separate from the theatre. In fact, the arts of the theatre are so closely allied that there is no word in Balinese meaning "theatre." No Balinese would think of separating a show into its component parts or, on the other hand, think a show complete that did not contain music and dancing. They divide their theatre rather according to the style of the story, which in turn dictates its music and the style of its technique. So, for example, the stories of the *Ramayana* take the shadow, or *wayang wong* form, the historical plays are the *topeng,* and love stories the *ardja,* and so forth. The following are the most important Balinese dances and plays:

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

53 LEGONG Music: full pelegongan orchestra. Dance-pantomime by two or three young girls playing Lasem and Semaradhana stories.

TJALONARANG *Pelegongan* with large flutes. A great exorcizing drama of the story of Rangda Tjalonarang, with dialogue, singing, and dancing.

BARONG *Pelegongan* (called *bebarongan* in this case). A dance-pantomime of the adventures of a fantastic, holy animal, ending usually in a wild kris dance (*rebong, ngurek*) by men in trance. Also an exorcism.

DJAUK *Pelegongan* orchestra. Dance-pantomime by male masked actors. Danced in the *legong* technique, with any story. Masks do not represent special characters. Characteristic head-dress.

DJOGED *Pedjogédan*, an orchestra of the *pelegongan* type, but made of bamboo. A purely demonstrative, flirtatious dance without a story. Called *gandrung* when performed by a boy in girl's clothes.

MENDÉT and REDJANG Orchestra: *semar pegulingan* or *pelegongan*. Two offering dances performed by elderly women and priests during temple feasts.

SANGHYANG Music: songs by a chorus of men and women. An exorcizing trance dance of the *legong* style performed by little girl mediums.

WAYANG KULIT Orchestra: *gendér wayang*. Shadow-plays by puppets. Stories of the *Mahabharata*, *Ramayana*, and others. A story-teller chants recitative.

WAYANG WONG *Gendér wayang* with drums and other percussions. *Ramayana* episodes by masked actors dancing and singing in classic Kawi.

BARIS *Gong*. Ritual war dances with spears (*baris gedé*). There is a modernized version (*baris pendét*) in which heroic plays are performed in dance-pantomine with incidental dialogue and singing.

TOPÉNG *Gong*. Masked actors playing local historical plays (*babad*); mostly pantomine, but with dialogue by the comic characters.

KEBIYAR *Gong kebiyar*. A modern dance purely demonstrative in character, performed by a boy dancer who interprets musical moods.

GAMBÚH Gamelan *gambúh*; flutes, violin, and percussions. The

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

classic technique for dramatic performances. Stories from the *Malat*, with much singing. Other plays of a similar character are the *tantri*, *tjupak*, *basur*, and *parwa*.

ARDJA *Gamelan ardja*; flutes and percussions. The *ardja* is a modernized *gambúh* playing romantic stories like *Tjandra Lasan*, *Salya*, *Sidapaksa*, *Galolikuh*, and Chinese tales like *Sampik* and *Tuan Wei*.

BARONG LANDONG *Gamelan batél*; flutes and gongs. Giant puppets of a religious character, playing humorous stories, the adventures of an old woman (*djero lúh*) and a black giant (*djero gedé*).

DJANGER *Gamelan djanger*; flute, gong, and drums. A modern musical comedy with many foreign elements, performed by boys and girls.

KETJAK Large groups of men singing in chorus, moving and dancing to the rhythm of the music. Occasionally performing episodes of plays. Derived from the *sanghyang* and *djanger*.

All these forms will be described later, divided for easier recognition according to our custom under the headings of "dance," "plays," "opera," and so forth, by their most characteristic features.

Like music, dancing has developed to a standard of technical perfection that makes of it a difficult science, requiring years of special physical training and practice. Although strict rules are followed and the structure of the dance is made up entirely of traditional gestures that leave no room for improvisation or individualistic styles, there is a certain margin of freedom allowed for the dancer. Sound and gesture become one, definite movements ruled by the most rigid discipline. The excellence of a performer does not depend only on his skill, but also on his personality, his emotional intensity, and the expressiveness of his features. Only clowns (*bebanyolan*) have no special technique and no program. Personality and the spirit of surprise are expected of them.

Obviously there is Javanese influence discernible in the Balinese school of dancing, but they have drifted so far apart in spirit and in social function that they have little in common today. In Bali dancing is still a living popular art, while in Java, where

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
OF7 Bali OF7

857 of this pain-word seems to satisfy the oppressor, who desists. I
201 never witnessed nor heard of a case where one small boy "beat up"
578 another. Certainly the hierarchy of ages recognized in any family group tends to discourage fighting, for every child knows that he is
561 allowed to "speak down to," scold, and order about his younger
857 brothers and cousins, just as he himself is spoken down to and ordered about by brothers and all relatives older than he. The system works smoothly, for if one is humiliated by an elder, one may take out one's venom on a younger member of the familiar group. The accumulation of ill-humor does not fall too heavily upon the youngest child, for he can always take refuge behind the protective skirts of the mother, who is older, and therefore in authority, over his oppressor. So are the scales balanced.

562 Very small girls are sometimes seen in the company of the boys
857 who play in the streets. But by the time the girls reach the age of responsibility—seven or eight—they are more apt to remain in the housecourt with the mother, taking a part in her work. Or if they
[482] are seen along the road, they carry on their hip a younger child en-
[855] trusted to their care.[4] These diminutive nursemaids saunter up and down, or stand watching the play of the boys, prevented from joining in the activity by the responsibility, and the actual weight of their charges. Girls do not play games, for gambling is a man's
[524] occupation. Neither can they share in one of the boys' favorite di-
[533] versions, that of drumming away for hours on the instruments of the village orchestra, which are generally left in an open pavilion accessible to the children. This is another occupation which belongs to the men. The girls stand by watching, and do not think of trying
[462] their hand at it, although they are not actually forbidden to do so. I have known one or two girls, dancers, who had developed quite a proficiency as musicians, but their cases were exceptional. In the same way girls are not expected to paint and draw. When I sent
•53 out a call to a number of villages for the drawings of children from
562 four to ten years, and distributed materials sufficient for all, not a
857 single girl sent in a drawing, nor would the little girls of my own village attempt any drawings even under repeated encouragement. Yet these same girls are learning from their mothers the complicated
[868] arts of making offerings, cutting designs from palm-leaf, and weaving.

[854] [4] Boys also carry babies, without shame, in imitation of their fathers who habitually dandle the small children.